SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

THE PRG, A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

THE Paris Agreement on Viet Nam has recognized the actual existence in South Viet Nam of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces. Western opinion regards it as a substantial diplomatic gain of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, but it is only an admittance of undeniable facts. The PRG was born in the crucible of the people's fight in response to the legitimate aspirations of the masses and the requirements of South Viet Nam's revolutionary development. In 1969, in the wake of their electrifying Tet 1968 uprisings and offensives, the South Vietnamese people won control of many areas where self-governing people's committees were set up. A people's power was imperatively called for by the situation prevailing then, and the masses were indeed longing for a regime truly representative of the people's fundamental and legitimate interests. In this context, the All-South Viet Nam People's Congress was convened on the initiative of the Joint Conference of the CC of the National Front for Liberation and that of the Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces. It eventually appointed the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and passed a basic Resolution on the line of anti-US patriotic resistance and the 12-point Program of Action of the PRG. Thus the latter rests on a solid legal foundation inherent in its birth, and it became apparent, in the process of its emergence, that it was a genuine people's power, representative of all social segments and upholding the supreme interests of the people.

SINCE its coming into being, the PRG, implementing the basic line of the People's Congress, has brought into full play its authority and power in all fields, and lived up to its status as sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. Under the banner of the NFL and PRG, the South Vietnamese people, backed by the coordinated efforts of all, scored an unprecedented historic victory over the "Vietnamized war" waged by the Nixon clique. The US government was compelled to sign the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, withdraw all its troops and recognize the existence of a "ghost" which it had been unable to conjure away — the people's revolutionary power. This fact alone proved the immense vitality of revolutionary power, and the futility of all schemes of the US aggressors to quell the patriotic forces in South Viet Nam, do away with revolutionary power and impose on South Viet Nam a neo-colonialist rule. It also showed that a considerable number of grassroots organisms of the Saigon client administration, a US neo-colonialist tool which once ruled over the entirety of South Viet Nam by means of US arms and dollars, were now shattered and replaced by a newly emerging system of people's revolutionary power. The weakening and estrangement of the Saigon regime and the appearance and ceaseless consolidation of revolutionary power were indicative of the irresistible trend of South Viet Nam's society in which the revolutionary power was a new element fully viable and reflecting the advance of history.

A government of the people and true for the people, the PRG on the one hand has been leading the latter in the pursuance of the NFL line of anti-US patriotic resistance against the aggressors, conquering and defending supreme national rights, i. e. independence and freedom, and on the other it has been caring for the people's material and moral welfare. The PRG 12-point Program of Action and specific policies on land reform, on freedom of belief, on national concord, on foreign policy, etc. have supplied unmistakable proofs of its popular character. All social segments of South Viet Nam could find there their respective places — at once suitable and deserving. Their legitimate interests were ensured by the various specific policies of that power, which contributed to the gradual improvement of the people's living standards and more over to the advance of South Viet Nam's revolution towards victory.

It was by no means easy to stabilize the life of the masses and to build a new society in the midst of an atrocious war. To give land to the peasants, to see to its farming and its high yield

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First bumper harvest on the former "McNamara" line (Quang Tri)

Special issue in honour of the PRG 4th founding anniversary and the publication of our 200th issue

Cynical trick

AT a time when the US has ordered aircraft including B.52s to strike the liberated areas in Tay Ninh, Binh Long and Phuoc Long provinces to support land-grabbing operations conducted by Saigon troops against the areas controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN, Nguyen Van Thieu raved for a discussion on the implementation of Article 15 of the Paris Agreement concerning the reunification of Viet Nam and the relations between the North and the South of Viet Nam. But, on May 12, 1973, in Vung Tau, Thieu feverishly instructed cruel agents of his "rural development forces" to continue carrying out the "pacification" program and "anti-communist" campaign, and to complete the "Vietnamization" plan. On May 15, 1973 addressing at the course for Saigon police officers, Thieu again arrogantly denied the existence of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces in South Viet Nam as recognized by the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam and ordered his men to carry out the so-called "defense of the territorial integrity of the nation."

With his cynical deceitful move, Thieu continued realizing the scheme of "legalizing" the Saigon administration, an instrument of the US neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam. The Thieu clique are acting to make people believe that the Saigon administration were the only administration controlling the whole of South Viet Nam and reserve for itself the right to talk with North Viet Nam on the relations between the two zones and the reunification of the country. The Saigon administration is scheming to mislead public opinion before the present extremely critical situation in South Viet Nam caused by the systematic violations of the Paris Agreement by the US and the Saigon administration. It has resorted to tricky moves and distortion of the Paris Agreement in a bid to wipe off the legitimate and legal position of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, discard the third political force, pave the way for the realization of its policy of partition, enmity, repression, retaliation and imprisonment of tens of thousands of patriots and those who advocate peace and national concord, and eliminate the democratic liberties of the people in the areas under its control. The Saigon administration is attempted to elude the settlement of the important and most imperative questions of the internal affairs of South Viet Nam which have been pointed out by the Provisional Revolutionary Government in its April 25, 1973 six-point proposal. How can those who on order from the US are clamouring for "anti-communist" campaign and together with the US are using bombs and schells to massacre the South Vietnamese people and scheming to annihilate the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the third political force, speak of "national concord"? How can those who are preventing all the necessary relations between the people in the two zones of control in South Viet Nam and considering South Viet Nam as a "state," sincerely wish to establish relations between the two zones and to reunify the country? The Thieu clique's ballyhoo about "peace" is aimed at sabotaging peace and pursuing the war. For them to speak of "national concord" and "reunification" means to divide and maintain South Viet Nam as a neo-colony of the US and prolong the partition of Viet Nam.

With the great victory of the anti-US resistance for national salvation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people. The Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam officially recognized the legal right of the Provisional Revolutionary Governement.

Always expressing its goodwill and fully loyal to the political program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and its Program of Action to build an independent, democratic peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam and proceed to the reunification of the country, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is determined to strictly and scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement and its Protocols to achieve reconciliation and national concord and establish at an early date the normal relations between the two zones and advance to the reunification of the country.

Saigon thugs in action

Chin Nang was freed after six years of detention in Can Tho prison. Joy and emotion took away all speech from his wife, Sau Luong. Relatives and neighbours flocked in to greet the returnee.

No sooner had a few sentences been exchanged than all Luong's famfly set down to a meal after two thousand days of separation. All of a sudden Saigon's soldiers stationed at Ap Binh on Highway 4, My Tho, marched on the house, clamouring :

"Let's get at the Viet Cong ?"

Sensing something unusual, Luong and her father stepped out on the threshold.

"There's no Viet Cong here, they said. We're worshipping our ancestors, that's all,"

"Who's this fellow ?" one of the irrupting thugs pointed his finger at Nang.

"My son-in-law. Just released from Can Tho," answered Luong's father.

"That's him, the political prisoner ! " the ruffians exclaimed.

A volley of Tommy gun bullets was fired at Chin Nang as he was pulling his release papers out of his pocket.

And so Nang fell to the ground without having time to tell so much as a word to his wife or anyone else of the family.

Sau Luong cried out her anger, grief and cursed on the killers. More neighbours rushed in to mob them who decamped disorderly out of fright.

A. T.

in the cities

— In defiance of intensified repression by the Saigon administration, 600 members of trade unions and representatives of the labouring people in My Tho city and other urban centres duly celebrated May Day. At a ceremony on the occasion, workers' representatives, members of families having their sons drafted into the Saigon army and representatives of the Vinh Kim Trade Union and of market stall keepers, urged Nguyen Van Thieu administration to effectively put an end to its military operations and repressive measures, ensure the people's democratic liberties and freedom of work. The participants unanimously passed a resolution calling for the Saigon authorities' satisfaction of their claims.

— *Tia Sang* reported in its April 21 issue a fivefold increase of license fees, consumption tax and income tax. *Dan Quyen, But Thep* and *Dien Tin* also made known that taxes hitting transport vehicles had been raised 15 times, and that a tax hike was likewise decided on theatres, cinema houses and private schools. The above-mentioned papers opposed the arbitrary decision by the Saigon Tax Department to compel taxpayers to hand in before April 30, 1973 their tax declaration otherwise they would have to pay 50% more than their due.

— On May 16, "deputy" Vu Van Mau urged the Saigon administration to release all people illegally detained under charges of militating for democratic liberties and peace. Poohpoohing Nguyen Van Thieu's assertion that there was no political prisoners in South Viet Nam, he pointed out : "The whole world is surprised and sneers at Nguyen Van Thieu's failure to realize that, through his own statement, he has ranked himself among dictatorial and fascist leaders who are the only ones not to make any difference between political and common-law prisoners."

— The *Alpha* Film Company has seen all its property seized and sold in auction by the Saigon Tax Department for arrears and incomplete payment of taxes. That Department threatened "strong" measures against those who were in the same position as the *Alpha* Company. The whole thing amounted, in fact, to a daylight robbery.

— On May 16, the Home Ministry of the Saigon administration ordered the dissolution of 26 political parties, on the ground that they did not meet the qualifications defined in Nguyen Van Thieu's decree. Only four pro-government parties were thus left free to operate, and the only "legal" party of them was the "Democratic Party" of which Nguyen Van Thieu himself was the president. An initial success was scored by railway workers in the Saigon-controlled area after a period of continued action : the Saigon administration and railway authorities were compelled to pay them arrears in wages and to readjust by a decree minimum wages for 1971 and 1972.

— On May 19, 22 political and social bodies, 15 "MP's" and 8 Catholic priests in Saigon published a joint statement against the Nguyen Van Thieu administration. By calling "communists" all those fighting for peace, national concord against US intervention, or by levelling at them vague charges of "harming national security," "contempt of court" etc. the Saigon authorities have classified them as "common-law prisoners" just to keep them in jail.

The statement also bared the Thieu administration's plot to force upon prisoners an "option for freedom," and insisted that all political prisoners be freed immediately and unconditionally in accordance with the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

— On May 23, 40 South Vietnamese "legislators," mostly from opposition groups in the Senate and the Lower House, signed a petition requesting the Saigon administration to send immediately all political prisoners back to their families and to the place they want to return to.

The petition also demands that the Saigon administration abandon its policy of branding those striking for peace, freedom and democracy as "communists," immediately comply with Article 11 of the Paris Agreement on ensuring democratic freedoms, and cease all arbitrary arrest and detention in order to create favourable conditions for the observance of the people's right to self-determination.

The petition demands that the Saigon administration release immediately Mrs Ngo Ba Thanh, Chairman of the Women's Association for the Right to Live, Huynh Tan Mam, Chairman of the Saigon Students' General Association, Lawyer Nguyen Long, and others.

Most elementary democratic freedoms denied in Saigon

TO stave off its total collapse, undermine the Paris Agreement and maintain US neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, the Saigon regime has continued, even after the signing of the accord, to suppress the South Vietnamese people's democratic freedoms.

On Jan. 28, 1972, that is one day after the Paris Agreement was signed, Nguyen Van Thieu went on TV and overtly urged his henchmen to sabotage it. He also proclaimed a series of utterly fascist measures aimed at depriving the townsfolk of the most elementary democratic freedoms. This was followed by appeals for "anti-communism," enmity and hatred, and "murder" of whosoever entertained relations with the NFL and PRG, be they only business ones, or only talked of "peace" and "ceasefire"...

The day the Paris Agreement became effective, Thieu cancelled all leaves for his troops and hurled them in thousands of police "sweeps" in all the eleven districts of Saigon, thereby whipping up a very tense atmosphere of war. 2,000 officers and NCO's of the Thu Duc Military School were hurriedly sent to city quarters and streets, the police force was doubled in toilers' sections, bus stations, in front of restaurants and coffee-houses, mobile check posts were placed at the entrances of the City, to watch all movements of the people. 3,000 police round-ups involving each a squad upward were mounted in the eleven districts of Saigon proper and a number of quarters in Gia Dinh on *Tet* days, and limitations were clamped on visits to ancestors' graves.

To these "police" measures were added "administrative" ones also aimed at keeping the people under tight control. "Identity cards" had to be returned to the authorities to restrict the people's movements in town, townsfolk were requested to have their mugs taken, establish "family" registers, declare the presence of visitors and account for the absence of any member of their family, etc.

In the labouring people's quarters and streets, fences had to be erected around dwelling houses, guards were on duty day and night, "self-defence" personnel had their arms always at the ready. Squads of field police were dispatched there to supervise those "self-defence" units and create an artificial tension with sporadic explosions.

In factories, workers were thrice requested to give their *curriculums vitae*, employers received orders to lay off part of their personnel, police and special agents were planted among the workers.

To cope with the new situation, Thieu renamed his "Information Ministry" "Commissariat General for Civilian Mobilization"—a camouflaged organization of special agents under Hoang Duc Nha, Thieu's "private secretary." Thieu's henchmen founded the "People's Front for Peace and the Realization of Self-Determination" while he himself set up his "Democratic Party" with a view to fascisizing the administrative apparatus and concentrating all powers in his hands.

Since February, Thieu has sent staff members of his "Commissariat General for Civilian Mobilization" down to the labouring people's sections in all the eleven districts of Saigon to organize "study drives" in which the Paris Agreement is deliberately wrested, and hatred against the NFL and PRG stirred up among the people. Those members of the "Commissariat General for Civilian Mobilization" moreover bullied the people into painting the Saigon three-stripe flag and anti-communist "slogans" in front of their houses. They joined hands with the police and other special agents in giving information on young draft-dodgers or army deserters for the field police to arrest them.

Heads of city quarters, inter-family groups and "self-defence" units were forced to adhere to Thieu's "Democratic" Party and those who resisted were threatened with either "dismissal" or "transfer" to far-away places.

A number of Thieu's underlings such as Tran Quoc Buu were entrusted with the task of forming new "opposition" parties while all political parties and mass organizations of rival clans were ruthlessly disbanded.

Many methods were used by the Saigon administration to extort money from the townsfolk especially from traders and industrialists. In the past three months, the Saigon piastre was devaluated twice, taxes were raised from 100 percent to 4,000 percent (as was the case with the tax on printing houses) and fines were indiscriminately imposed. Importers had to pay an extra 200 piastres for each dollar spent in buying goods from foreign countries. With the devaluation of the currency, tax-hikes, price-rocketting, the Saigon administration could not conceal that in March 1973, i.e. two months after the signing of the Paris Agreement, Saigon's cost of living was 30 percent higher than in January.

The totalitarian economic measures decided by the Nguyen Van Thieu administration have made things much harder for Saigonese. The army of jobless people has been swelling with every passing day, the life of millions of labourers has been made more insecure than ever. Thousands of children of workers have had to drop out and look for a job.

In the last three months, even compradores outside the Thieu camp fell victims to Thieu's crackdown. On April 1973, he ordered the "Credit Bank" to be closed and its property sold in auction. The same penalty was inflicted on the Alpha Film Company's on April 27 ; the Dong Khanh Company had to pay 13 millions piastres of tax-arrears. Freedom of the press and opinion was strangled. Since the coming into effect of the Paris Agreement, strict orders have been given by the Saigon administration not to let any Saigon or foreign correspondent into the areas under PRG control and to limit and control contacts of Saigon journalists with the DRVN and PRG military delegations in the Four-Party and Two-Party Joint Military Commissions at Tan Son Nhut. The Saigon press can carry news only in the version cleared by the administration. Many papers have been repeatedly seized or censored on the ground that they have refused to reprint the fact-misrepresenting news released by the Thieu authorities.

Various methods of pauperisation including wage-cuts, reduction of work-hours, lay-offs, etc. have been used against the labouring people, leaving them with only one alternative, that is enlistment into the army for the achievement of "Vietnamization."

The Saigon administration has drawn up a series of plans like the "Post-war economic plan", the "Urbanization Plan" and set up the "Development Committee," but as a result, thousands of workers have become jobless and thousands of families have been evicted from the Lo Gom and Petrus Ky Quarters. Many people have no homes to live in. On International Labour Day, all rallies, meetings, parades of the working people were prohibited, and a tense atmosphere reigned on that festive day.

To sum up, in the past three months in Saigon, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration has left no stone unturned — using utter craftiness and savagery — to systematically undermine the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. Article 11 of the Agreement was especially violated : all elementary democratic freedoms have been flouted. It is safe to say that the Nguyen Van Thieu administration has unmasked itself as representative of the most truculent, fascist, reactionary clique of compradore bourgeois enjoying the backing of US imperialism — as enemy of the people and the nation, sower of enmity and hatred, of death and suffering all over Saigon and South Viet Nam.

It has prevented the achievement of national concord and peace.

Consequently, if democratic freedoms, peace and the people's welfare is to be secured, there is but one choice for the Saigonese: unite and enlarge their common front to force on the Saigon administration strict implementation of the Paris Agreement and, first and foremost, acceptance of the 6-point solution proposed by the PRG on April 25 at the Consultative Conference of the two South Vietnamese parties. Only by so doing can the situation be restored to normal, peace guaranteed and the war wounds healed.

Sweeps, arrests and torture are routine under the Saigon regime

Thieu's is an illegitimate and disloyal government

IN international law there are two main criteria for the recognition of a state or a government, namely, effectiveness, i.e. real independence and real power, and representativeness, i.e. democratic foundation.

Which of those two criteria has pride of place? There are differing views but since the peoples' national fundamental rights are regarded as the cornerstone of contemporary international law, one should say that representativeness has.

Is representative any government that gives expression to, or defends, the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of a country. That expression can take on various forms: elections, the behaviour and action of the masses in the eventuality of a revolution, an uprising or a resistance war against an occupying force or foreign invasion.

Is not representative a regime stemming from rigged elections, or one imposed on a people by a foreign country in pursuance of a colonial or neo-colonial policy.

In the case of an independence war as the one waged by the thirteen English colonies in North America in the 18th century, the process passes from an armed uprising to the setting-up of a rule representative of the people's will that becomes more and more effective on the whole of the national territory.

The national liberation movement in South Viet Nam over the last twenty years has offered vivid instances of the aforesaid processes.

The Nguyen Van Thieu government is heir to that of Ngo Dinh Diem, "a Diem regime without Diem," to quote researcher Daniel Ellsberg while testifying before the US Senate Foreign Relations Commission on May 13, 1970.

In fact, Thieu took over after a coup d'Etat then became president of the "Republic of Viet Nam" after elections that his running mate Nguyen Cao Ky himself described as a "farce" in an interview given to the Western German paper *Stern*.

Thieu was "re-elected" for a second term in 1971 after disqualifying all his rivals, including Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky, by means of an iniquitous election law, and riding alone to the presidency.

A faithful servant of US neo-colonialism, Thieu has ruthlessly suppressed all political opposition and democratic liberties, and continues to rule by fascist decrees-laws concocted by himself that are in contradiction with many provisions of the utterly undemocratic 1967 constitution itself.

The effective power of the Thieu government is that of US armaments and dollars. The "Republic of Viet Nam" is the least independent of all American neo-colonies, as the Saigon regime is closely controlled from top to bottom by US advisers and its finances solely depend upon American aid; in final analysis, the taxes collected by Thieu come directly or indirectly from that aid granted in the form of goods brought by American cargoes.

It does not therefore make sense to speak of any legitimacy as far as the Thieu government is concerned.

There is one legitimate government in South Viet Nam — the PRG, born of the people's struggle for Viet Nam's national fundamental rights and South Viet Nam's right to self-determination. The PRG is fully representative of the deep aspirations and fighting will of the South Vietnamese population against US neo-colonialism and its Saigon valets. It succeeds the NFL and is regarded by a large number of countries and international organizations as the sole legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese population. It exercises effective power, in the full acceptation of the term, over two-thirds of SVN territory inhabited by one-third of the population, and increasing influence in the Saigon-controlled zone and among the people living there.

THE Paris Agreement, which has formally asserted the national fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, has in no way — as is obvious to all — legitimized the Thieu government. Prompted by recognition of a factual situation — the existence of two governments, two armies, and two zones of control—it has specified measures to solve the South Viet Nam problem, i.e. disengagement and departure of all US and allied troops within 60 days; and consultations in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord between the two South Vietnamese parties to set up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord and come to terms on all South Viet Nam's internal affairs within 90 days (Article 12).

The 60 and 90 days time-limits assume an imperative character since it is of paramount importance to end as soon as possible a situation totally unwished for by the South Vietnamese people and establish one government of national reconciliation and concord.

Whereas the PRG and the DRVN Government have been correctly fulfilling all their obligations deriving from the Paris Agreement, the US administration and the Thieu government have been committing serious, flagrant, repeated and systematic violations of the provisions of the accord, thereby betraying their intention not only to prolong the survival of the Saigon client regime but to maintain it in office indefinitely.

After Nixon's and Agnew's statements that the US will continue to recognize the Thieu regime as "the only legitimate" government in South Viet Nam, the White House has published a Summary of the Fundamental Provisions of the Paris Agreement, which wrests, among other things, the purport of Article 9. The Vietnamese government recognized by the United States will continue to exist, the Summary says. The fundamental structure set up by the (1967) constitution as well as the political leader of that government will remain in office.

Echoing his master, Nguyen Van Thieu called for the carrying on of the "Pacification" and "Vietnamization" program (May 13). Speaking to 600 police officers two days later, he brazenly denied the existence of two governments, two armies and two zones under different control in South Viet Nam and ordered his army and police to defend the "integrity of the national territory" of the Republic of South Viet Nam!

In spite of the Saigon regime's spurious effectiveness and faked representativeness, the US-Thieu, after mounting encroaching actions against the liberated zone and "mop-ups" in their own, have organized fraudulent local elections and are scheming "general elections" to the Upper House on August 26.

US-Thieu manoeuvres, however treacherous, are unable to confer real power on the Saigon regime. The latter, which has never been independent from the United States, will never be so after the withdrawal of American troops since 17,000 US military advisers remain behind disguised as civilian personnel with clear-cut political and military assignments: see to the functioning of logistical services and direct military and pacification operations. Thieu's one-million-odd-strong army entirely depends upon the US for its armaments, pay, technical training and operational command. All experts agree that the Saigon regime would not survive beyond a few months if it were not for the iron lung of American aid.

Should elections be held at the points of US guns, they would, as a breach of Chapter IV of the Paris Accord, be of no value. How could one think of free and democratic ones when the cease-fire is not observed, democratic liberties not ensured, political prisoners not released, and national reconciliation and concord impossible to achieve owing to the obdurate bad faith of the Saigon regime and in the absence of a free third-force component?

Far from improving the legal status of the Saigon regime, the disloyalty of the US-Thieu further demonstrates its unrepresentiveness and ineffectiveness.

The Nixon doctrine has already gone bankrupt in Indochina. "Civilianization," that is the massive use of US military advisers in civvies and other politico-legal moves, could not save "Vietnamization" and US neo-colonialism in the face of a people jealous of their independence and freedom, and confident of the active support the world's peoples, the American people included.

On the fourth founding anniversary of the PRG, a government recognized de jure by 33 states and co-signatory to the Paris Act with the five big of Security Council (in presence of the UN Secretary General), the US and Saigon should see the writing on the wall as soon as possible and make up their minds to strictly and fully implement the Paris Agreement. Otherwise they should expect more stinging setbacks and universal condemnation for attempting to break the treaties signed and inexcusably contravene international law.

XUAN KHANH

Prison — the Thieu regime's symbol *(an entire family in custody)*

RENEWAL in the liberated areas

SINCE the cease-fire, people of all walks of life in the liberated areas have been busy building a new and really free life in the spirit of national concord. A great many fine and moving scenes have been seen in all hamlets, villages and streets under the PRG control.

In Trieu Phong district (Quang Tri province), 8,000 people of 18 villages held a meeting on May 3, 1973 to receive a "Brass Wall" Order, 2nd Class awarded by the RSVN PRG for their all-sided achievements in a year of freedom. In the early days of liberation, the nascent revolutionary administration led the people to beat off US counter-offensives. In 7 months ending January 28, 1973, people of various districts fought 1,049 battles, killing 6,747 adverse troops, wounding 229 others, capturing a US airman and talking into surrender a number of Saigon soldiers. They also shot down 40 aircraft including 26 jet planes, damaged 21 others, set ablaze 88 military vehicles including 64 tanks or other armoured cars, captured 212 firearms of different types, destroyed 83 artillery pieces including 15 105mm and 155mm guns. Besides leading the people in holding to vital points, the administration also saw to the evacuation of tens of thousands of inhabitants to safer places. In only a few months, the evacuees managed to put 600 hectares under rice, 250 hectares under potatoes, 134 hectares under vegetables, planted 100,000 willows, reared 3,405 fowls and 398 pigs. Trieu Lang and Trieu Van villages alone caught 158 tons of fish. Despite fierce enemy bombings and shellings, people in the attacked areas harvested 10 tons of Autumn rice.

After the signing of the Paris Agreement, the movement to rebuild the homeland has been making headway among the youths and people. Up to now, 7,000 new houses have been built throughout the district, and 37,881 workdays spent on filling up bomb craters, repairing 46,200 culverts, mending 102km of roads, digging or repairing 83 canals about 74km in length, building 6 dams including the Viet Yen dam against salt water which enables the farming of 5,100 more hectares of rice.

The people's welfare in Trieu Phong district has also been improved further. The widespread medical network has given treatment to tens of thousands of people. 279 teachers have been trained, and 179 primary classes opened for 7,541 pupils and 5 elementary classes for 210 others, 298 mass education courses for 4,701 attendants, 14 complementary education courses for 252 hamlet and village cadres, and 56 literacy groups for 300 guerillas.

In Gio Linh district, over 200 youths volunteered to rehabilitate the Cua Tung salt marsh. Hundreds of other youths in various villages of the district took part in the building of irrigation works, schools and dispensaries.

In Cam Lo district, more than 300 shock youths restored an over 2km long section of canal, the most difficult job at the Lam Lang dam.

RECENTLY, the continuation school in Quang Nam province began its 9th course, the first of its kind since the restoration of peace, for 81 students, 57 women, including model workers or employees and mostly youth union members. Teachers and learners were all full of zeal and resolve.

In Binh Dinh province, since the Paris Agreement came into effect in spite of repeated US-Saigon encroachments on the areas held by the PRG, the educational and cultural movement has seen an upsurge in the plains as well as in the mountainous region.

In the delta districts of Hoai Nhon, Hoai An, Phu My, Binh Khe and highland districts of An Lao, Vinh Thanh, 56 primary classes were opened for 19,828 pupils. In An Lao and Vinh Thanh districts, hundreds of pupils were admitted to two boarding-schools. In Binh Dinh, there were 19 continuation courses for 320 people, and 24 public organs in the province and districts ran full-time courses for 149 cadres 9 courses were organized to train 215 primary school teachers.

In Tra Vinh province, over 1,300 people recently left their "resettlement centres" and "strategic hamlets" for the liberated areas. They built 18 dams, dredged a 13-odd km long canal. People in Cang Long and Cau Ke districts grew 1,769 more hectares of Autumn rice and sowed over 131 tons of paddy seeds, restored 16 hectares of gardens ravaged by enemy bombs and reared 300 pigs and 32,200 fowls.

In My Tho province, hundreds of youths in T. village, Cai Lay district, held heated discussions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the PRG policy of national concord. 16 of them then voluntarily joined the guerillas, while many others took an active part in rebuilding villages and hamlets and helped returnees from the concentration centres resettle.

In the villages along the Vam Co Dong and Vam Co Tay rivers, the people erected 2,000 houses, cleared over 5,000 hectares of virgin land for the planting of early rice and short term subsidiary crops.

My Tho province people also built 50kms of fences, restored 157 hectares of fallow land, dredged nearly 40km of canal. They also compelled the Saigon troops to remove 9 posts to enlarge their acreage.

In Kien Tuong province, dozens of thousands of people, on the strength of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, left their "strategic hamlets" and "resettlement centres" for their homeland and enthusiastically engaged in production and the building of a new life. In Kien Binh and Tuyen Binh districts alone, more than 1,000 Hoa Thuan, Ngoc Hoa, Hung and inmates of such disguised jails returned to their native villages where they mended roads, built bridges, filled up bomb and shell craters, dredged over 6,000 metres of canal, and planted over 10,000 fruit-trees.

In the first 10 days of May 1973, the People's Revolutionary Committee in the area bordering Rach Gia provincial capital distributed 70 hectares of ricefield to 30 families of newcomers to the liberated area.

The revolutionary administration also sent cadres down to the hamlets to help the local people out of a shortage of production means and passed on their experience in crop-multiplication. In Ngoc Chuc villages (Giong Rieng district), the cultivated area doubled that of last year. People in Go Quao and Giong Rieng districts also grew 3,000 more ares of starch crops while those in An Bien district bred nearly 10,000 hogs and fowls and resumed the manufacture of mats.

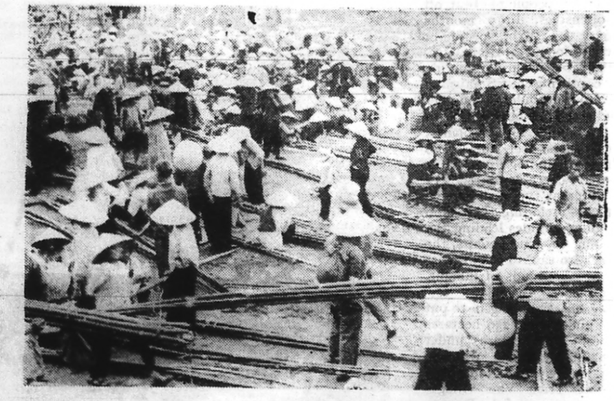
In An Bien, Vinh Thuan and Go Quao districts, over 80,000 inmates of concentration centres returned home to rebuild their houses and quickly restore production. People in Dong Hung, Dong Thai, Dong Hoa and Dong Thanh villages (An Bien district) built a 15km-long dyke against salt water.

In the same period, people in Vinh Thuan district cleared 25 kilometres of canal crossing Vinh Hoa, Vinh Binh Bac, Vinh Binh Nam and Vinh Thuan villages.

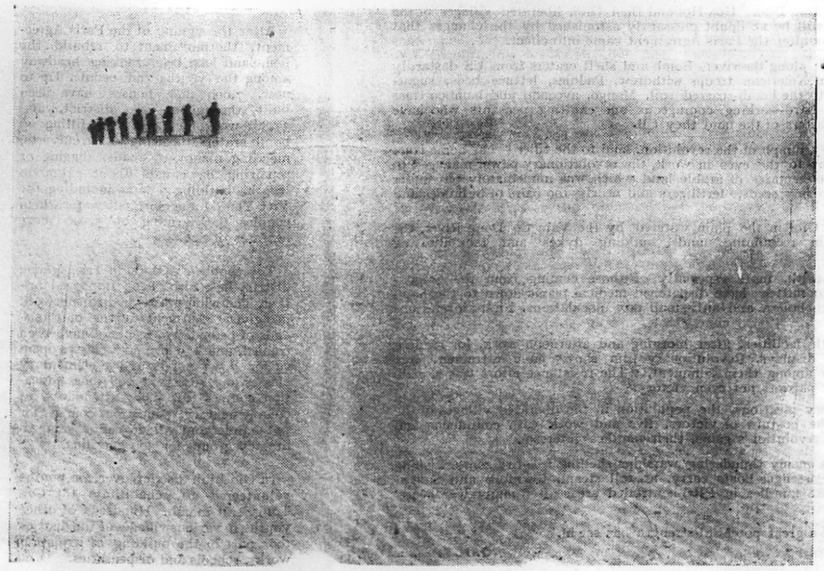
P.Q.N.

The first tractors sent to tillers for a first post-war harvest

THE NEW LIFE IN THE LIBERATED ZONE



- *What a bliss to meet again after so many war years' separation!*
- *On a duty journey*
- *At long last, Cau Market (Quang Tri) is reopened*
- *For the PRG, the struggle against illiteracy is of great urgency*
- *Pine-apple fields are regaining greenness*
- *Patrol on sea-side*



The PRG,

A People's Government

(Continued from page 1)

while deluges of bombs were rained on it, draught force was destroyed en masse by the enemy and manpower was acutely short — was indeed an uphill task on a dual front: against the aggressors and against natural calamities. To enforce democratic liberties while the enemy was clamping down upon the people all kinds of fascist measures was no simple job. The significance of the achievement scored in the building and defence of the free zone could be fully realized only in the light of all this: an hectare of ripening rice, a school, an infirmary newly built, even a song, a dance newly composed... were all achieved at the cost of a sustained, bitter, resolute effort against the enemy.

The extensive free zone and the changes occurring there in many fields were possible thanks to the PRG policies. The Revolutionary power could find there an expression of its efficiency and of the people's support to it — which indicated that the people's interests fell in completely with those of their revolutionary power. There lies the latter's legal foundation.

The PRG writ has been running even in the areas still under the control of the Saigon administration. Its various policies have been warmly hailed and even implemented by the people there. Its policy of national concord, in particular, has blown a fresh breeze into the stifling atmosphere of the neo-colonialist urban society, while its program for a sovereign economy and a national culture has set an objective for the fight of industrialists and intellectuals in South Viet Nam.

Internationally, the PRG position has elicited strong sympathy and support by progressive mankind. More than 30 countries have recognized, and established diplomatic relations with the PRG. The big family of the non-aligned nations formally granted it full membership and reserved total backing to the South Vietnamese people's fight against US aggression and their plan to solve the South Viet Nam issue. The PRG brightening international image is proof enough that in the eyes of progressive governments and peoples throughout the world, the PRG is the sole legitimate government of South Viet Nam.

BORN four years ago, the PRG has secured a solid foothold in the hearts of the South Vietnamese people and in the world as well. Its emergence, development and consolidation, its functioning at different levels, from central to local, its ever higher prestige and authority both at home and abroad illustrated an undeniable fact — that the PRG was genuinely a legal power, a power of the people and for the people.

Its formation was quite a necessity. Its existence and evolution has been part and parcel of an irresistible trend. For years, the US aggressors and their agents had been resorting to the most crafty and ruthless methods to eliminate it. But they dismally failed in this effort as their "Vietnamized" war also went bankrupt. They were forced to sign the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, but soon started to violate its main provisions. Both Nixon and Nguyen Van Thieu have exerted themselves to negate the PRG. Immediately after the Agreement was signed, Nixon declared that the Nguyen Van Thieu regime was the sole constitutional and legitimate government of South Viet Nam. In all contacts with the PRG under the Paris Agreement, the Saigon administration has left no stone unturned to deny the existence in South Viet Nam of two administrations, two armies and two zones of control. Recent endeavours were made by it to contact the DRVN Government and to label itself sole constitutional and legitimate government of South Viet Nam. But this is but a wild dream. Nixon himself could not wipe out the people's revolutionary power with a huge deployment of weaponry and dollars, so many crimes and the sacrifice of so many GIs and Saigon soldiers. It was in the thick of the US limited war that the revolutionary power emerged. Meanwhile, the US strategy came to a flop, and its successor — "Vietnamization" — was also doomed. The Saigon administration became shakier and more isolated with every passing day, its area of control kept on shrinking, while its true colours as a dictatorial, fascist, servile regime were made all the more obvious.

IN such circumstances, the problem of power in South Viet Nam has to be settled in an adequate way on the basis of the actual existence of two administrations, two armies, and two zones of control. The solution has been made clear in the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and couched in even more concrete terms in the 6-point proposal of the Delegation of the PRG to the Paris Conference. Refusal to accept this solution only results in stalemating again the issue and by so doing the US and Saigon administration only betray their dark design which is to negate the main substance of the Paris Agreement, continue US involvement and neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam.

But has not this policy of neo-colonialist war, military involvement and Vietnamization led Nixon to bitter setbacks? Even heavier ones are in store for him if he chooses to follow the same beaten track.

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, which has been won by the South Vietnamese people under their revolutionary power.

The PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam is a government of the people's power, standing for independence and freedom. As its maker, the South Vietnamese people are resolved to defend and consolidate it at all costs.

SOUTH VIET NAM

By the Azun River

THE Azun river, deep blue, flowed quietly across the Darlac plateau, past immense farms of banana, Indian corn, water-melon, past puffy cotton fields and lush vegetable gardens.

The plateau came into view at the same time with tall P'lang trees, whose flowers blazed in the sun.

Miao, a militant of Azun village, came to a stop and turned round.

"Rung Rang village is over there," he said.

On a level place I saw rows of houses on stilts newly erected. Their fresh look and the ground half-cleared of bushes indicated the recent return of the villagers after a long absence. From the gardens, a sweet smell of flowers was wafted to us by a light breeze.

Miao made another halt as we came to a cluster of houses which were fenced in and looked more permanent than the rest.

"The folks were taken to Cam Ga (Darlac) quite a long way from here," he said, "They've just been back for a couple of months, the journey took almost a fortnight."

"Where're they now?" I asked. "There's nobody around."

"Gone to the jungle. The enemy came here just yesterday and tried to take them away."

I wanted to know how hundreds of people detained in so distant a place had been able to break away from it and come home again, and what bound them so to their old places.

My curiosity was not satisfied. Miao merely said:

"That can wait. Let's made a tour of the village first."

When we were too tired to go on, Miao led me into a banana garden. The owner, a very old man, whispered something to his daughters. The latter went off and came back in a few minutes with three baskets laden with ripe, fragrant bananas and pawpaws and fresh vegetables.

"Now help yourself," the generous host told me in Vietnamese. "Or you can take them along with you."

"This land is very rich," he continued, now in the Bahnar dialect. "There's plenty of fish and fruit for everybody. The Yanks didn't want us to live. They came and took us to Cam Ga against our will."

"Did you have bananas over there, in Cam Ga?" I asked just to keep the ball rolling.

This set off general laughter.

"Oh well," the old man said, "there were bananas there all right, but it cost ten piastres apiece. If you don't have money you are hungry, and nobody cares a straw for you."

By that time many other villagers had joined us. They told me how thousands of inmates had had to line up for water at a few taps, how they had had to burn dead leaves and twigs in the complete absence of firewood, how they had had to live on half-rations all the time. As many as 37 persons from Rung Rang had died in the camp, I was told.

"Now you know why our people have come back," commented Miao with a smile. "You see, they can never live far from this place."

Of course I knew now. I also knew why Miao had taken pains to take me round the village to see the people. I knew why people were so deeply attached to their homes.

The girls' giggling made me feel awkward. An old man, sensing my uneasiness, explained: "They want to sing something to entertain you."

Their voices, clear and strong, filled the air with life, and Miao kept up a running translation to tell me what they were singing... "Hey, the folks! Cheer up! Cheer up! The Revolution has won! Let's trust the wise leadership of the Front. Hey, the folks! Don't let's live in slavery! We've won this round! Get up to pull down this camp and liberate our villages! Put up the flag!..."

We went to another place in the afternoon. Here the dry season usually begins in November and ends in May the following year, and the inhabitants took a strong liking to spending the nights outdoors. A male guerilla and I built a fire to cook our meal while Miao went down to the stream for a bath and some fish.

I was opening my rice-bag when I was stopped by the guerilla.

"Don't," he said. "Just taste *our* rice."

He opened his own bag and took out a very good kind of rice. Soon afterward, Miao reappeared with a basket of fish. There was also a basket of finger-sized shrimps which the people had given us.

After the meal we made our bed—a thick mattress of dried banana leaves covered on top with a sheet of plastic. We lay on our backs and talked. High over the wind-swept plateau, the dark-blue night sky was studded with brilliant stars.

Miao insisted that I should lie between he and the guerilla, but the latter would not hear anything of it.

"The enemy is not far away," the youth explained. "I'll go out and keep watch. You two just go on chatting."

"Miao, it's high time you told me how you infiltrated into the camp and led the people back," I urged.

"I can't put it in words properly," Miao said laughingly.

Knowing the reticence peculiar to ethnic nationals, I prompted him:

"I still can't see how you could locate the folks, so far away as they were."

"Why, they sent words back. Moreover, we dispatched some messengers to them."

"How did you manage to plan the evasion with them?"

"We sent scouts into the camp to contact them."

"It was very difficult to get into the camp, wasn't it?"

"Of course, it was. But we had Brang with us. He's a guerilla, and he passed off for one of the inmates. I stayed behind, in the jungle. All wanted to see me, and all wanted to go home. The few that came to the jungle to see me cried bitterly. They said to see me was just like to see the Front and the old village again."

"What did you tell them?"

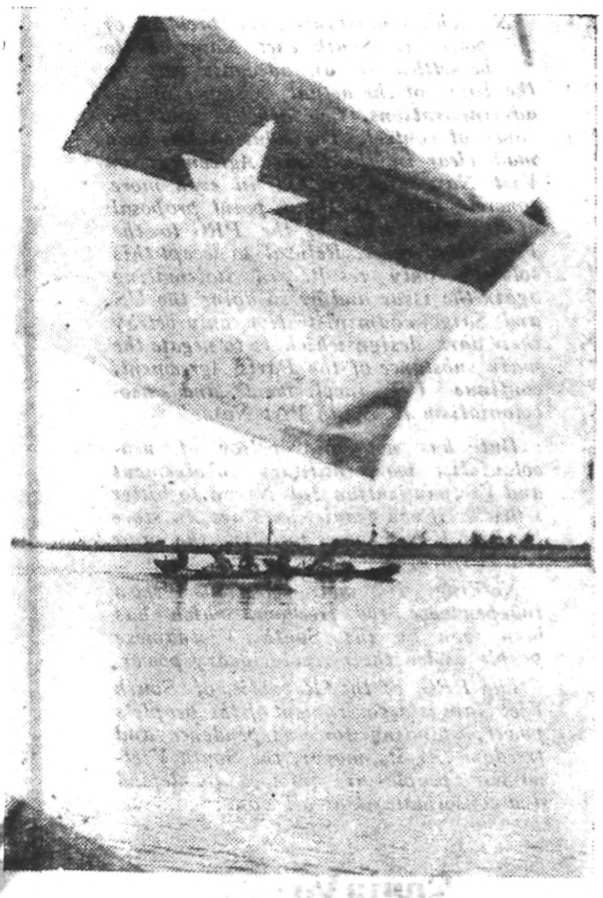
"I said:" Look, folks. The village's running to seed. There's nobody there to pick the ripening fruit and catch the fish swarming the river. So, it's time for you to go home, now!"

He laughed silently for a while and went on:

"I also asked them to get their food ready, and told them the places where they would be picked up by our men. Around 500 people from this village succeeded in getting away."

I lay for quite a long time without sleeping a wink. When I was awakened by Miao the whole plateau was already gilded by the gorgeous morning sun.

V. N.



The Hieu river (past Dong Ha), cleared of mines, is navigable again

RAPID CHANGES

THOSE who have the opportunity to come to Hao Duoc, Hoa Hoi and Bien Gioi, liberated villages of the municipal district of Tay Ninh province, will be no doubt pleasantly astonished by the changes that have occurred there in less than three months after the Paris Agreement came into effect.

Hundreds of houses have been newly built along the river. Bomb and shell craters from US dastardly strikes were immediately filled up as crest-fallen American troops withdrew. Paddies, lettuce beds, sugar-cane fields have given a refreshing green cover to the bomb-scarred soil. Mango, avocado and bamboo trees are burgeoning thanks to the labour of the hard-working, courageous and exulting peasants who have returned to their villages. They are now the masters of the land they till.

The long-cherished dream of the masses — triumph of the revolution, land to the tiller — has come true. In the first days after the cease-fire, though up to the eyes in work, the revolutionary power managed to distribute despite overwhelming difficulties 1,000 hectares of arable land which was immediately put under crops. It also granted loans to the peasants to buy seeds, fertilizers and nearly 100 pairs of buffaloes and oxen.

From Hao Duoc and La Pang to Bien Gioi in the plain watered by the Vam Co Dong River, the people have been enthusiastically engaged in reclaiming lands, building dykes and rehabilitating irrigation canals...

Paying particular care to the people's health, more especially of those coming from the Saigon-controlled zone, the People's Revolutionary Committees have dispatched medical teams down to the hamlets where they give free consultations and anti-cholera and anti-small pox inoculations. First-aid stations have been established in virtually all hamlets.

Information halls provide the farmers with facilities, after morning and afternoon work, for reading newspapers and magazines and seeing photo displays. Revolutionary film shows have attracted large crowds from Saigon-controlled areas. Not a few among them comment, "The resistance effort was a grim and tough one, but nothing is impossible for our patriots not even victory."

Though surrounded by an arc of artillery positions, the population in the liberated villages of the municipal district of Tay Ninh province, in the posture of victors, live and work with confidence and vigilance, ready to do their best to preserve the revolution's gains, their families' interests.

On the Vam Co Dong, one no longer sees enemy thundering warships shelling free-fire zones. Fishing boats of the locals go about their job freely. Passenger boats carry, at full steam, townfolk and Saigon troops from the provincial capital back to their families in PRG-controlled areas after many war years' separation.

Under the liberation banner, a new life of a great potential strength has set in.

Q. N. P.

DRVN IN BRIEF

Bronze cuirass in the kings Hung time (BC)

Production at President Ho Chi Minh's birth place

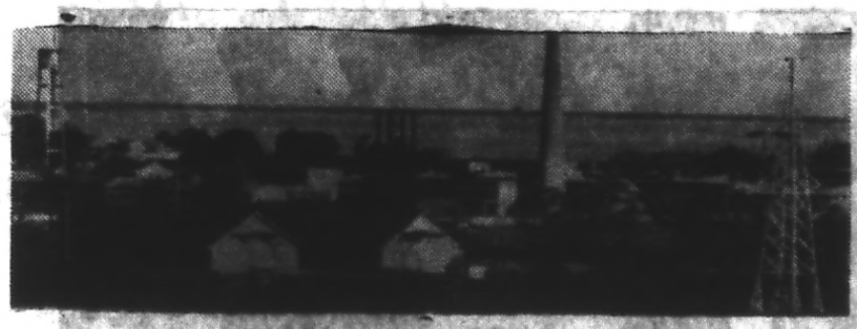
To make Uncle Ho's native land more prosperous and more beautiful, tens of thousands of youths in Nam Dan district (Nghe An province) are determined to promote their ricefields into "10-ton fields." In a short period, they filled up 200 bomb-craters, repaired 5,000 metres of dykes hit by US air raids and completed the construction of a 7-million-cubic metre reservoir capable of watering thousands of hectares under industrial crops.

500 new class-rooms built in Hai Phong

The Hai Phong Education Service has completed the building of 150 class-rooms inside the city and 386 class-rooms in the suburbs. Besides, 200 villages in the periphery of the city are building primary and elementary schools with spacious class-rooms.

The Spring Production Drive

Stepping up the Spring production drive thousands of minority people in the provinces of Ha Giang and Cao Bang have turned their maize milpas into terraced fields, practised specialized and intensive cultures, protected the soil from erosion, flattened hills, and built embankments to transform sloping maize milpas into new fields. Within a short time nearly forty thousand hectares of land have been grown with maize, or an increase of 21%.



Viet Tri, an industrial city of the DRVN

Over 300 industrial and public utility works under construction

In the past three months, the construction branch has blueprinted and started the building of over 300 projects including nearly 100 industrial works and completed 6 industrial and public utility works. In addition, it has trained over ten thousand workers in this line.

War scars rapidly healed

Tens of thousands of workers of the Thac Ba hydro-power plant and Uong Bi and Viet Tri thermo-power works have completed the cast of tens of thousands of cubic metres of concrete, removed tens of thousands of cubic metres of earth and rebuilt and repaired many grids to restore the supply of electricity in those localities.

Many dwelling houses, hospitals and schools in Hanoi, Hai Phong, Nam Dinh, Ninh Binh, Viet Tri, Ha Bac destroyed by American bombs have been repaired, and hundreds of thousands of square metres of housing place built for the population.

A new maize strain

A new maize strain yielding 6-7 tons per hectare, codenamed KT5 has been developed by the Agronomic section of the Economic's Planning College ; it is a hybrid of selected grains of a high-yield maize strain. Having big ears and abundant grains, it has a growth period of between 85 and 115 days.

A new harvester

The Nam Hong Engineering Works in Hanoi has designed and built a new model of harvester which can do the job of 50 farmhands and can be used in dry as well as flooded ricefields. An improvement on imported harvesting machines, this prototype is provided with a support for the stems, which cuts down the losses of grain. Its mass production is underway.

Here and There

ON THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA

A new meeting between Le Duc Tho and Kissinger was planned for May 17, 1973 to look into the implementation of the Paris Agreement and seek ways to make it more effective.

The whole world has been witnessing the good will of the DRVN and PRG firmly resolved to honour their signatures. It remains to be seen whether the US and the Thieu regime are prepared to do the same. The problem boils down to the uncomfortable dilemma for the US side : neo-colonialism or peace.

Prior to the said encounter, in his May 12 press conference, Dr Kissinger still advocated "punitive and encouraging measures" for the compliance with the Paris Agreement, though the "stick and carrot" policy had proved out-dated in Viet Nam and given the US plenty of food for thought.

Although checked in its aggression, the Nixon administration had to sign the Paris Agreement and pull out its troops from South Viet Nam, it is far from giving up its "doctrine" and its neo-colonialist manoeuvres in South Viet Nam. In his report on the US foreign policy, made public on May 3, 1973, Mr Nixon admitted on the one hand that the heavy price of US intervention in Viet Nam, the cessation of the hostilities and end of US interference had considerably influenced the future of US foreign policy and American society. On the other, he has been carrying on an already bankrupt line, thereby involving the US in a vicious circle, and instead of putting a final stop to US interference, has been increasing it and courting growingly disastrous setbacks.

MORE CHARGES AND DENIALS

The White House is in very hot waters indeed. The Watergate smear has been blemishing more and more of its members. In a little over one month, 15 high-ranking officials of the Nixon administration have resigned or been sacked. The Senate Commission of Inquiry continues its interrogations and TV companies are widely disseminating their unpalatable details. Alarmed by the depositions of the accused, the White House has been issuing denials upon denials. The latest, on May 18, asserted that the President had not at all been aware of the moves to cover up the Watergate scandal and had authorized no one to make on his behalf proposals for clemency and financial help.

Even Dr Kissinger, formerly regarded as a "truthful" person, is now worried about rumours on his involvement, for he is alleged to have soon the recordings of the Democratic Party bugging (*Reuter*, May, 5). A renowned newsman, Joseph Kraft of the *Washington Post* revealed that the White House special advisor had in fact help arrange the installation of the listening devices for Halperin, a member of his staff. According to the journalist, among the most prominent Washington personages implicated in the affair, there were Kissinger, Haig (interim chief of the White House Secretariat for the time being) and Richard Helms, ex-head of the CIA.

Every day, the Senate Investigation Committee receives convincing, detailed and always sensational revelations. In the teeth of successive White House denials, Gray, former acting boss of the FBI who had just left, gave even more details in his last declarations : about 11.28 on July 15, 1972 (Nixon was then in Key Biscaye and Gray in Washington) he rang up Nixon and said, Mr President you are hurt by the very fact that your close aides are utilizing the FBI and CIA for the cover-up of the Watergate affair, to receive this alleged answer from his boss : Go on with your investigation (*AFP*, May, 15).

Meanwhile, John Dean was encouraged to tell the truth by a ruling of the Senate Committee of Investigation granting him full clearance. The latter also decided to summon four ex-aides of Nixon to testify on the role of the CIA in the scandal and in the Pentagon Papers case. They are John Ehrlichmann, former first presidential advisor on internal affairs, Haldeman, ex-chief of the White House Secretariat, John Dean, onetime legal adviser of Nixon and David Young, once a member of the National Security Council.

A PERIOD OF GLOOM

In addition to all that, within 5 days, from May 10 to 15, two hard blows were delivered at Nixon and his administration :

1. — Vote by the House of a resolution (219 against 188) amending a draft bill on military spending, which will prohibit the administration to use for US bombings and military operations in Cambodia, the 173-million-dollar appropriation for other programs. The same legislature has also passed with a majority 224/172 an amendment to a law banning the use of any part of the 2,800 millions dollar supplementary credit for any bombing or US military actions in Cambodia.

It was the first time, Western press agencies commented, since the beginning of US aggression in Indochina that the House of Representatives approved of a bill diametrically hostile to the administration's Indochina policy. Remarkably, up to now, the House had taken Mr Nixon's part in any attempt to thwart his intention (*AFP*, May 10).

2. — Adoption without a single dissentient vote by the Senate Appropriations Commission (24 votes against nil) of Thomas Eagleton's amendment to the draft bill forbidding the Capitol to approve any credit for US ground, air or sea military operations in Cambodia and Laos (*UPI*, May, 15).

Like the House, the said Commission had hitherto supported Nixon's various policies.

Those two moves are clear indications of the present mood of the American people and their strong feeling against the Nixon administration and its native client's escalation of the aggression in Cambodia and sabotage of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the peace recently restored in Laos. They have also given the lie to its slanderous charges against Viet Nam, which are aimed at covering up its own violations of the Accord and intensification of the war. Its admission that it is facing the gloomiest and most difficult period of its tenure is very well-founded (*AFP*, May 15).

HUONG NAM

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on visit to Cambodian liberated areas

Head of State N. Sihanouk visits Senegal

ON May 10, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and President of the Cambodian National United Front, arrived in Dakar on an official visit to the Republic of Senegal, at the invitation of President Leopold Senghor, *AKI* reported. It was the first leg of his 9-nation tour in Africa and Europe.

He was accompanied by Princess Monique Sihanouk, Mr Ieng Sary, special envoy of the Home Section of the NUFK and RGNUC, and a number of ministers in the RGNUC.

President Leopold Senghor and his wife, National Assembly Speaker Amadon Diah, Premier A. Diop, and many ministers in the Senegalese Government were present at the airport to welcome Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and his party.

On May 12, the Cambodian Head of State, Mr Ieng Sary and the other members of the Cambodian Government Delegation held friendly talks with President Leopold Senghor, Premier A. Diop, Foreign Minister Assan Sechs and several other Senegalese Ministers, at the Presidential Palace and on May 13, a joint communiqué was released in which Head of State Norodom Sihanouk sincerely thanked President Leopold Senghor, the government and people of Senegal for their assistance and support to the legitimate fight of the Cambodian people against the US and its Phnom Penh lackeys. He also lauded the great economic, cultural and social achievements of the Senegalese people.

President Leopold Senghor warmly hailed the signal successes of the armed forces and people of Cambodia in all respects — military, political and diplomatic, — under the leadership of the Cambodian Royal Government of National Union.

He once again reaffirmed support of the government and people of Senegal to the Cambodian people's effort to achieve the objectives set in Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's March 23, 1970 proclamation and in the NUFK Political Programme.

Both sides expressed confidence that the brotherly friendship and solidarity between the people of Cambodia and Senegal will become ever stronger. They pledged to step up co-operation between the two countries in various domains—political, economic, cultural and social.

They once again reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of non-alignment, regarding it as a significant contribution to the cause of national independence in the Third World and, first and foremost, to the expansion of cooperation between Asian and African countries.

FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF VIENTIANE AGREEMENT DENOUNCED

THE Supreme Command of the Lao People's Liberation Army has issued a communiqué regarding the flagrant violations of the Vientiane Peace Agreement by the US and the Vientiane administration, according to *KPL*.

The communiqué said:

Since the signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, the Lao patriotic forces have fully respected the Agreement and exerted great efforts to promote the Vientiane talks with a view to an early conclusion of a political and military protocol to the Agreement.

On the contrary, the Vientiane administration has systematically violated the Peace Agreement by carrying out its military schemes. Vientiane troops, "special forces" and Thai mercenaries supported by aircraft and artillery have launched one nibbling operation after another against the areas under the control of the Lao patriotic forces, causing heavy losses in lives and property to the population and rendering the Lao situation more strained.

Citing some of these acts of violation committed by the US and Vientiane side, the communiqué said:

In Luong Nam Tha province, many battalions of Vientiane troops and Thai mercenaries have since April 28 mounted attacks against the Padong sector, Hill 1000 and Phou Khao Lam and Houei Saphick regions, whereas Thai commandos in the Vient Phou Kha Thapha sector and along the Muong Thuong - Muong Mung Road carried out spying activities and sabotage, making preparations for attacks against the areas controlled by the Lao patriotic forces. 30 sorties have been flown by reconnaissance planes and F. 4's and T. 28's over the Xieng Lom and Houi Lao regions. US aircraft bombed and burned down the whole village of Ban Kok, damaging 40 houses.

In Sayabouri and Udomsay provinces, Vientiane troops and Thai forces attacked the regions of Pak Tha and Pak Khop from April 24 to 30 and shelled a village on the Mekong river bank. Meanwhile, they fired mortar shells on Pa Lai hamlet, killing or wounding many villagers.

At the same time, many T.28s, in ten sorties, struck at Pak Khop hamlet, burning 20 houses.

In Vientiane province, Vientiane forces have since April 21 broken into the region of Muong Phuong to draft people into the army. More than 1,000 families in Ban Xe Noi and Phou Xe Nhay were forced to take up arms. Those who refused to do so were punished. Meanwhile, T.28 and L.19 aircraft made 20 reconnaissance and bombing flights over the Kheung Noi, Keng Peun, Keng Nhang and Phou Xe areas, destroying a number of dwelling houses.

In Sam Neua province, the US and the Vientiane administration have of late smuggled more than 200 commandos into the liberated zone for sabotage activities.

From April 22 to May 9, Vientiane soldiers and Thai forces attacked the Lao patriotic forces and Tha Vieng, on Hills 1966 and 1132 at Phou Nhang and in the region south of the Plain of Jars, in Xieng Khoang province.

At the same time, aircraft of various kinds of US and the Vientiane rightists flew nearly 800 sorties including nearly forty bombing missions and over 750 reconnaissance and supply flights. On April 22 alone, T. 28s and L. 19s made 20 sorties and dumped steel-pellet bombs on Nanan hamlet and the area south of Xieng Det. On May 7 four sorties were made by T.28s to attack the patriots at Phou Keng and bomb Van Luong.

In Kham Muon province, Vientiane troops supported by aircraft and artillery from April 29 to May 5 in 9 nibbling attacks against the liberated areas, east and southeast of Sebang and Phou Phanang and east of Thakhek, dropped fragmentation bombs on Bannam hamlet and the region south of Siengdet. On May 7, 4 T. 28 sorties strafed the position of the Lao patriotic forces in Phoukeng.

In Savanakhet province, from April 26 to May 6, US aircraft in 50 sorties conducted reconnaissance flights over areas under the control of the Lao patriotic forces, while aircraft of different types in 120 sorties made reconnaissance flights over the free zone in Saravane province in the same period.

Thus, the communiqué stressed, the US imperialists and the Vientiane administration have systematically violated the Vientiane Agreement. This shows all the more clearly their dark design to undermine peace and national concord in Laos.

According to a recent report before the US Congress, Pentagon officials admitted that since late January this year, US aircraft had dropped some 82,082 tons of bombs on the Lao territory. This proves once again that the US imperialists have not yet terminated their military involvement in Laos, the communiqué said.

North Viet Nam "Three-Ready's" youth meet

In the jubilant mood of the historical month of May, the North Viet Nam "Three-Ready's" Youth Congress opened in Hanoi, attended by more than 500 delegates from the frontline, delta and highland provinces, border zones and faraway islands, ricefields, construction sites and factories. Many of them were labour and army heroes, or representatives of the female sex and ethnic minorities. All were true representatives of the "three-ready's" movement now in full swing among individuals and collectives throughout North Viet Nam.

A delegation of young representatives of the "five voluntaries" movement in the South, led by PLAF hero Phan Hanh Son, was also present at the gathering, as a living symbol of North-South brotherhood.

The Assembly was a major rally of young people tempered in eight years of valiant and successful struggle. In that length of time, the "three ready's" movement produced 86 Heroes of the Armed Forces and 26 Labour Heroes.

Basing itself on the present situation and future revolutionary tasks, the Congress decided to promote further heroism and sense of collective masterhood and urge the young generations to actively and zealously contribute with might and main to the building of socialism in the North, to maintain high vigilance, and combat-readyness as well as its sense of discipline for the sake of peace and against all provocations, sabotage and war activities against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, mainstay of the whole nation's drive for peace, independence, democracy and national concord, progressing towards peaceful national reunification.

In a message to the South Viet Nam youth, the Congress stressed, "The youths in both zones will have to bring into full play their heroism of the anti-US war years. They will further unite and compete with one another in achieving new feats in the building of a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, as a contribution to world revolution.

"The new revolutionary stage will provide new opportunities for the youths to devote their strength and talents to the service ot the Fatherland and to temper themselves into new men with fine qualities and capabilities."

Together with the youth all over the country, the South Viet Nam youth pledge themselves to be always in the van and to fulfil in an outstanding manner all tasks given them, so as to deserve to be called the heroic young generation of a heroic nation.

Minister Nguyen Van Hieu in visit to Italy

Pope Paul VI receives him

REPORTS from Rome said that on May 12, at the Vatican, Pope Paul VI had granted an audience to Minister of State Nguyen Van Hieu, Head of the Delegation of the RSVN PRG to the Consultative Conference of the two South Vietnamese parties. In attendance was Mgr Cafarolli, Foreign Minister of the Holy See.

Minister Nguyen Van Hieu handed to the Pope a copy of the 6-point proposal of the RSVN PRG put forward on April 23, and posted him on the US and Saigon administration's serious violations of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, especially of the provisions relating to the cease-fire, return of civilian personnel and enforcement of democratic liberties.

The Pope expressed sympathy with the Vietnamese people and stood for a strict implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam to bring about an effective end of the hostilities, restoration of peace, achievement of national reconciliation and concord in a spirit of independence, freedom and justice. He highly valued the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and promised to actively encourage all forces of peace and national concord to ensure the implementation of the Paris Agreement.

Minister Nguyen Van Hieu had previously visited Italy from April 3 to 6, at the invitation of the Italy-Viet Nam Committee. On that occasion as well he had extensive contacts with representatives of political parties and personalities such as: the Italy-Viet Nam Committee, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Democratic Christian Party, Mr Medici, Foreign Minister, Mr Sandro Partini, House Speaker, Mr Di Signi, acting Mayor of Rome. He was received everywhere with warmth and honour.

At a special meeting organized by the President of the Italy-Viet Nam Committee in which participated many Senators, deputies and representatives of various political parties, mass organizations, cultural and social bodies, Minister Nguyen Van Hieu delivered a speech on the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the 6-point proposal of the RSVN PRG. The Presidium of the Italy-Viet Nam Committee issued a statement warmly hailing the PRG important initiative, as a "primary objective of the Italian movement in Support of Viet Nam."

The Italy-Viet Nam Committee also pointed out that one of its objectives was the "enlargement of relations between Italy and the RSVN PRG on the basis of the recognition by the Paris Agreement of the existence of two administrations in South Viet Nam". It announced that a ship named *Ship of Hope* was due to leave Genoa soon with goods collected by various Italian mass organizations and localities for Viet Nam.

In talk with Minister Nguyen Van Hieu, members of the Central Committees of the Communist and Socialist Parties, leaders of the Democratic-Christian Party, and Italian political personalities all praised the new PRG overture, expressed deep sympathy with, and full support for, the PRG and South Vietnamese people's fight for a strict implementation of the Paris Agreement and building of an independent, peaceful, democratic, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, to be eventually reunited to Viet Nam.

The PRG envoy voiced sincere thanks for the strong and sustained support given by the Italian people and workers to the NFL, PRG and South Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle.

On the evening of May 15, he returned to Paris.

THE WHOLE WORLD SUPPORTS US

o Bulgaria's Peace Council and the Association of Lawyers have issued a joint statement saying: "Saigon is openly violating the cease-fire and terrorizing the population. Although the time-limit is long overdue, military and civil personnel detained by it have not all been returned to the PRG,

and continue to be inflicted the same inhuman treatment... It is also because of Saigon that the internal affairs of South Viet Nam as well as the other urgent matters have not been settled. As far as the United States is concerned, it has not yet ended its military involvement and its interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam."

o Support Viet Nam activities were organized in many parts of Holland from April 29 to May 2 by the Support Viet Nam Association of Artists participated in by thousands of artists to feed the Viet Nam funds. The 100,000 fl. proceeds earned will be spent on medicines and medical instruments for Viet Nam.

o The GDR Solidarity Committee opened, in Berlin on May 15, an exhibition called "Solidarity with and Support for Viet Nam — More Opportune Now than Ever."

o Some 30,000 people staged a parade in the streets of Milan on May 12 in response to a joint appeal by many European movements of solidarity with Viet Nam.

At the meeting called at the end of the demonstration, speakers, including visiting Americans, called for greater support for Viet Nam, and condemned US and Saigon serious violations of the Paris Agreement.

o Bertil Zachrisson, President of the Stockholm Conference on Viet Nam, sent on May 7 a letter to UN Secretary General Kurt Valdheim then on a visit to Switzerland, strongly criticizing the US preventing the establishment of a liaison body of the PRG at the United Nations, in disregard of the authority of the UN Secretary General.

On behalf of Sweden's political parties and mass organisations in the country, he requested Kurt Valdheim to take steps for the PRG representation to be established at an early date.

o The Centre of Indian Trade Union at its 2nd Convention from April 18 to 22, unanimously passed a resolution warmly acclaiming the victory won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle against US aggression and for national salvation while strongly condemning US and Saigon serious and systematic violations of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. The resolution also urged the Indian government to extend recognition to, and establish diplomatic relations with, the RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government.

On April 22, over 300,000 Indian trade-unionists held a meeting to hail the success of the said conference, where a drive was also launched for material aid for Viet Nam. Representatives of youth, women and student organisations presented Viet Nam with a sum of 20,000 Rs.

A sum of 73,000 Rs. was also collected by the Viet Nam Solidarity Committee and the CITU in Calcutta on April 24.

o The Belgian organizations merged into the Belgium-Viet Nam Committee have recently set on foot a large campaign to demand the United States and the Saigon administration to strictly implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

On May 5 they sponsored in Brussels a teach-in called "6 Hours For Viet Nam," with slogans urging:

— An immediate end to all torture and massacres of political prisoners, and their immediate releases,

— Democratic liberties in Saigon-held areas,

— A stop to Saigon army's violations of the cease-fire,

— Establishment of the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord to pave the way for general, free elections, and,

—The Belgian government's recognition of the RSVN PRG.

Armament workers in Hegstel and representatives of the people of Liege held big meetings on May 8 in support of Viet Nam, and the Belgium-Viet Nam Committee the same day handed over to Vietnamese representatives 730,000 frs collected by inhabitants of Liege.

o Bishop T. Gumbleton, back in New York on May 10 from a trip to South Viet Nam, exposed Thieu's falsehoods and inhuman treatment of political prisoners.

Political prisoners under Saigon detention are subject to an inhuman treatment and endless torture, he declared.

WATERGATE and American Conscience

One June 17, 1972, toward 2 a.m., a "private" detective of Watergate Hotel in the block of buildings bearing the same name and giving on the Potomac, sounded the burglar alarm, because a group of men had just planted bugging devices at the seat of the Democratic Party National Committee, which occupied a floor of the hotel. Nobody then thought that the case would produce a stir in US and world opinion and jeopardize the US Presidency.

In Washington, cases of nocturnal breaking and entering are common occurences. The federal capital with a 800,000 population is also the capital of crime. At nightfall, it becomes a desert, which has prompted an American author to describe it as terrifying and sick then. Across the US, an average 100 hold-ups and 100 cases of break and entry is committed a night, and more than 30,000 assaults on policemen a year. Since the beginning of the century, 800,000 Americans have lost their life at the hands of criminals, or 200,000 more than in all the US wars from the Civil War to the cease-fire in Viet Nam.

Out of the five evil-doers arrested on June 17, 1972, three were Cuban counter-revolutionary exiles and professional thugs, the fourth was also a vulgar criminal ; only the fifth and gang leader named James McCord was not of the same breed, being an ex-agent of the FBI and a security man of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. Two other members of the band operating the remote control from their plush suite No 723 in the same hotel were not apprehended but summoned only for interrogation by the police : they were Messrs Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt, both counterfeiters, racketeers and... collaborators of the CRP.

The affair would have been pigeonholed if it were not for a legal action filed by the then Chairman of the Democratic Party National Committee Lawrence O'Brien who in addition to the Watergate bugging, complained also of a burglary of the office of his Party's lawyers and the phone-tapping of the secretariat of Senator McGovern on Capitol Hill and of his National Committee. Police inquiries and expert conclusions established that the bugging centre was the N° 723 suite at Watergate Hotel.

However the five arrested denied everything apart from the offence which they were perpetrating when caught. As for the other two, instead of pleading guilty threatened a suit for damages.

From the White House then flowed out instructions to postpone the proceedings until the end of the presidential campaign, for the sake of impartiality, it was said, as some member of the Republican Party had also protested against a burglary of his office, which might have been engineered by the rival party. It was reported that President Nixon took in hand those incidents and had entrusted his young and effervescent legal advisor, the well-known John Dean to look into them.

It was not until January 15, 1973 that the inquiry was resumed. The President of the Federal Court Sirica, while issuing a warrant against all the 7 accused warned them that their charges if subtantiated would bring them 40 years of imprisonment each and 55 years to the gang leader and main culprits, plus half a million dollars' fine but notable reductions of the penalties would be granted to those supplying the court with new intelligence and turning state's evidence.

This immediately untied tongues. James McCord took the lead, then Howard Hunt and Gorden Liddy followed suit.

So it was revealed that bugging gadgets had been planted at the seat of the National Committee of the Democratic Party a month before the June 17, 1972 breaking and entering whose only purpose was to check the working of the devices, and that the No 723 suite had been rented since May 5, 1972 for eave-dropping the Democratic conversations. An eighth confederate an ex-FBI man was caught but he also was only another hireling. The conduct of the whole business could be traced further up to the team of White House advisors. The big scandal had come to light.

On February 7, 1973 the Senate, under pressure of public opinion, appointed an Inquiry Commission headed by a 76-year-old former justice, Sam Erwin, Democratic Senator for North Carolina. Many personalities were summoned to testify before the body. Other damning facts were uncovered, involving this time the President's closest aides and himself who must have known of, if not okayed, the spying and had anyway made use of his position to hinder the course of justice. In March 1973, Dwight Chapin, a White House aide, was indicted and in late April 1973, it was the bombshell : forced resignation of Harry Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, two closest Nixon aides and dismissal of John Dean. The latter, infuriated, announced his readiness to tell the whole truth to the senatorial commission and his unwillingness to be a scapegoat for anyone.

From May 5 to the mid-May, the list of the accused from five was extended to 25 people including high-ranking officials of the establishment and the Presidency.

Mr Nixon who had begun by lecturing the press for making much ado about nothing, had to soft pedal. On April 30, 1973, he went on the TV to tearfully admitting the seriousness of the case. On May 22, he again appeared there to recognize that he had authorized the bugging and ordered the limitation of the legal proceedings for the sake of national security while denying any part in the Watergate espionage of which he was aware only afterwards.

Using the same tactics, national security advisor Henry Kissinger confessed that he had given the green light to telephone tapping in 1971 but he had been completely in the dark about Watergate.

In sum, Nixon is trying to get away with the whole thing by sacrificing to the altar of public outrage some 20 aides nearly half of whom was of ministerial or similar rank.

But not much wind has been taken out of the sails of public opinion in the US. It believes that the President has not told the truth. Voices have been strongly raised for his resignation or his impeachment by Congress, and even a trial to cancel the returns of the 1972 presidential election.

One should not forget that the whole dirty business has been taking place in the US where scandals have not been infrequent like the 1921 Teapot Dome which landed Home Secretary Albert Fall in prison for many years. No US president has so far been tried, relieved of his office or convicted for corruption, although cases of outrageous enrichment have not been rare: Harry Truman, a failure in haberdashery, and a senator elected by ghost votes, left the White House a wealthy man. Lyndon Johnson returned to his Texas ranch in January 1969 with 30 million dollars in various investments.

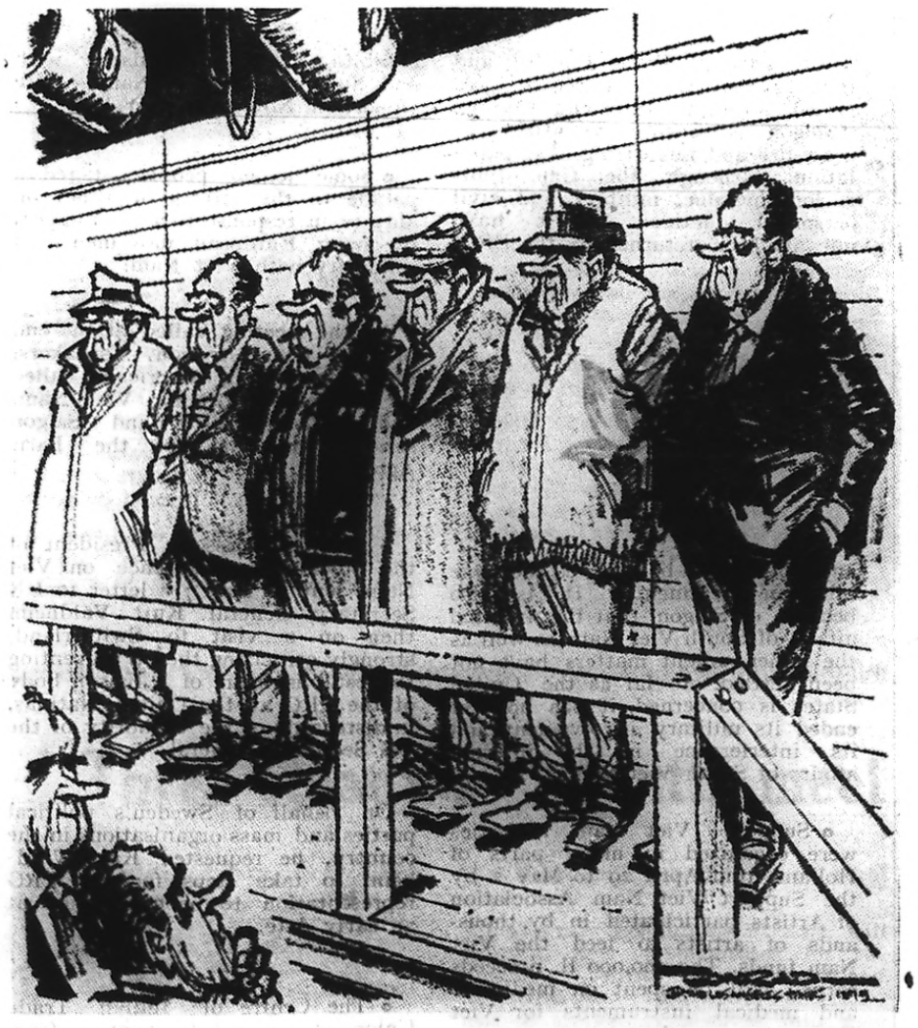
It will not be impossible that R. Nixon who has had similar close shaves will come out of this one unscathed, living up to his nickname Tricky Dick. But even if he does so, his image will be certainly tarnished, if not because of his bad faith at least because of his aptitude to dupe his fellow Americans. The Watergate affair is only one sample of other Nixonian machiavellian moves.

Thus, it has been established in the course of the Watergate relations that Ehrlichman and Nixon himself had meddled in the Ellsberg case to ensure his conviction. Justice Matthew Byrne made known that Ehrlichman had offered him, on behalf of the House, a more profitable position i.e. as head of the FBI. This permitted Leonard Wainglass, head counsel of the defence, to declare that his group would have been thrown in jail if it had tried to bribe the judge.

Meanwhile public concern has been growing over US bombings in Laos and Cambodia where B.52's are daily used to prop up the collapsing Lon Nol regime by mass murdering helpless women, children and old people. The US Congress has remained indifferent. Each day brings fresh indications of Nixon's double dealing which consists of an apparent disinvolvement and of an actual deeper involvement in Indochina. The April 3, 1973 Nixon-Thieu communiqué was nothing short of a military pact. The same duplicity, transparent in the Watergate scandal, imperils American democracy or what is left of it, after so many infringements by the executive against the legislative and judiciary.

Watergate in English means a flood gate. It is safe to say that the name is symbolic for Mr Nixon is exerting his strength and intelligence trying to close it on the flow of blemish invading up to the yard of the White House. But it seems to be an uphill job. At least, by immolating his advisors, he is attempting to save his own skin and that of the military-industrial complex he represents. But US and world public has been warned. There has not been any "peace with honour" for the simple reason that fighting is still going in Indochina because of Nixon's dishonesty. There will not surely be any "settlement with honour of the Watergate affair" because his disloyalty is now known to every one thanks to the disclosures of his own henchmen now out of job or even worse, in the dock, for an offence which the principal culprit washes his hands of.

X.S.



"I'm sorry — I don't recognize any of them...!"
(*From* The Militant)

SOUTH VIET NAM — CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION